



THE KEYNOTER

STAY IN THE
DEMOCRATIC PARTY
BY VOTING FOR AND
SUPPORTING
**THURMOND and
WRIGHT**
THE STATES' RIGHTS
Democratic Nominees

Printed and Distributed by the States' Rights Democratic
Party of Escambia County, Florida.

Headquarters:
124 E. GOVERNMENT ST.
PENSACOLA, FLORIDA



Demand Respect

FOR THE
SOUTH

BY VOTING FOR THE STATES' RIGHTS
DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES

**THURMOND and
WRIGHT**

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT

"YOU CAN BE A BETTER

DEMOCRAT

By Being a States' Rights DEMOCRAT"

STATES RIGHTS 1948 - THE SOUTHERN VIEW
TR EQUALITY BUTTONS • 1880 CAMPAIGN RIBBONS
BATTERSEA & LIVERPOOL • EISENHOWER VS. McCARTHY

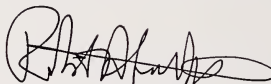
Managing Editor's Message

We are pleased to feature in this issue an article by Roger Fischer on the discovery of a group of previously unknown satirical ribbons from the 1880 campaign. Along with Roger's educated speculations and erudite conclusions, his article reminds us again of one of the most exciting elements of this hobby—after 110 years in someone's attic or sewing drawer, examples of these ribbons have been discovered for the first time. Looking can be very rewarding!

Our second lead feature, starting on page 28, explores the States Rights Party and the Southern viewpoint during the 1948 presidential campaign, and explains for the observant among you why the front cover does not illustrate the article on page 4 for the first time. The tone of the flyer's message on the cover captures the essence of the States Rights Party and its beliefs. It is no coincidence that the use of the donkey as a party image in the Knox cartoons represents the "real" Democratic Party of the South—the States Rights Party—while the national (Truman) party is shown as a man in a donkey costume—an ersatz symbol.

In 1981, we published an article by Roger Fischer on the 1904 "Equality" buttons, the first article in any publication analyzing the significance of these items. In this issue, Michael Kelly takes another look and extends our knowledge of these fascinating pieces.

Two collectors have sent in pictures of pieces in their collections for our Collector's Corner. Phil Pollock's items appear on page 7. John Gingerich's picture has prompted us to finally go head-to-head with our major competitor, Playboy Magazine, and print a centerfold. We hope that you share our excitement. We continue to solicit pictures of items in your collection that you would like to share with other Keynoter readers. It's your turn.



Robert A. Fratkan
Managing Editor



All correspondence should be addressed to:

Managing Editor

Robert A. Fratkin
2322 20th Street NW
Washington, DC 20009

Contributing Editors

David Frent
Michael Kelly
John Pendergrass
John Pfeifer
Robert Rouse

Museum Associates

Edith Mayo
Edmund B. Sullivan

Contributors

Donald Ackerman
William Alley
Roger Fischer

Photography

M. W. Arps, Jr.
Robert Fratkin
Theodore Hake

Support Services

Melyssa Fratkin
Joe Hayes

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

©1990, APIC Texas 78234
Printed in U.S.A. by
Lebco Graphics

THE APIC KEYNOTER

Published Triannually

Volume 90, Number 2

Fall 1990

FEATURES

1880 Presidential Put-Down Ribbons	Page 4
A Second Look at Equality Buttons	Page 8
The Oregon's Dash Around The Horn	Page 10
Churchill and Truman—The Iron Curtain Speech	Page 13
Politicking in the Early Republic	Page 16
Eisenhower vs. McCarthy	Page 20
The 1948 States Rights Party	Page 28

DEPARTMENTS:

Collector's Corner	Page 7
Items of Interest	Page 12
Items of Interest II	Page 17
Collector's Corner Centerfold	Page 18

Illustrations: The editors wish to thank Donald Ackerman, William Alley, James Bernard, Lester Bernstein, Joseph Brown, Theodore Hake, John Pendergrass, and Phillip Pollock for contributing pictures for this issue. A special thanks to John Gingerich for the centerfold illustration and for providing the original artwork for the John Knox cartoons.

Covers: *Front:* 1948 States Rights Party flyer, Blk/wht; *Back:* New York University humor magazine cover, Gold/rust/green.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The Winter Keynoter will—hopefully—feature the campaigns of Nelson Rockefeller, McKinley's visit to Georgia, Indiana's favorite sons and much more. If our printing schedule holds, expect the Winter issue in late December.

“WELL, I SHOULD SMILE”

1880 PRESIDENTIAL PUT-DOWN RIBBONS

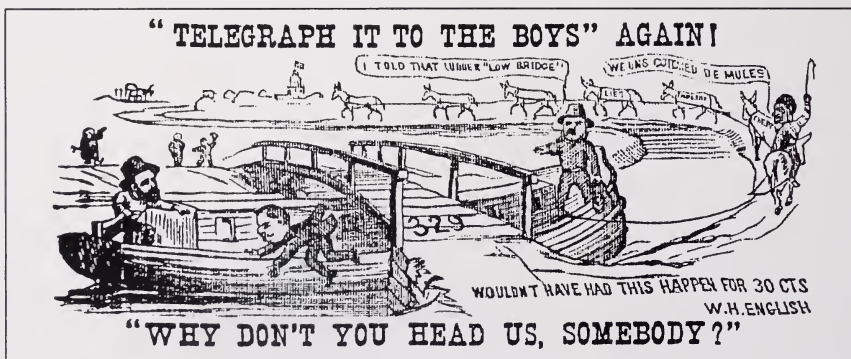
By Roger Fischer

A remarkable cache of 1880 campaign ribbons recently acquired by long-time APIC member Joe Brown has caused me to reassess some value judgments rendered in *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges* and *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too*. Every student of American political memorabilia must begin with the known body of items surviving in collections and in the documentary record. Through the efforts of serious collectors like Joe Brown, our labors are made easier and the historical record more illuminating. In this instance, Joe has acquired eight outstanding 1880 put-down ribbons, only one of them (JAG-32) included by Ed Sullivan and me in our ribbon compendium. These ribbons require me to revise some opinions as to the relative paucity of satirical items in late nineteenth-century presidential campaigns.

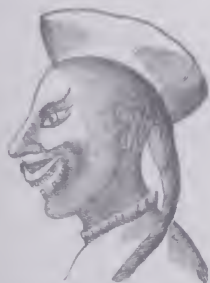
In *American Political Ribbons and Ribbon Badges* (p. 172), I wrote that in one respect the memorabilia of the late Victorian era provided “a fundamentally flawed reflection of the campaigns that inspired them, for very few of them convey even a hint of the inherent meanness that characterized these close and spirited contests.” As evidence, I cited the only four 1880-92 ribbons we had discovered which sought to exploit elements of scandal, all four probably post-election and three of them gloating that their candidates had survived the allegations to capture the White House. I echoed these comments in a general discussion of campaign items as reflections of Victorian gentility in *Tippecanoe and Trinkets Too* (p. 122). Since Joe Brown’s new acquisitions have nearly tripled the known number of put-down ribbons from this period, I

would concede cheerfully that our genteel Victorian forebears were probably much less genteel than I had portrayed them and that as new memorabilia comes to light it will document further the raucous nature of the era's political wars.

During the 1880 campaign, James A. Garfield was plagued by allegations that he had reaped a \$329 profit from the notorious Credit Mobilier scandal, his proceeds from stock given him by colleague Oakes Ames of Massachusetts to fend off a House investigation. Although he denied the charge repeatedly, he had indeed received and cashed a check from Ames for \$329 and his disclaimer that the \$329 had been a personal loan rings false. During the 1880 race the numerals “329” were ubiquitous on Democratic fences and outhouses, perhaps America’s first genuine political graffiti. More serious in voter impact, however, especially in the key and rabidly anti-Chinese constituencies on the Pacific Coast, were Democratic allegations that Garfield favored flooding the Pacific with Chinese coolie workers to drive down the cost of labor for wealthy employers. On October 18, 1880, New York *Truth* editor Joseph Hart was given a January 23, 1880 letter from Garfield to H. L. Morey of Lynn, Massachusetts, insisting that labor was a matter of the marketplace and that employers had a right to secure it as cheaply as they could. Although leading Democrats certified the handwriting as genuine and Democratic newspapers made much of this “yellow peril,” Garfield received a telegraphed copy and pronounced the letter a forgery (a verdict echoed by subsequent historians) and his sup-



I MUST LAUGH!



GARFIELD LABORING MAN.

Personal and Confidential!

OF COURSE, my record in Congress on the Chinese question cannot be denied. BUT, MY LETTERS, authorize the Committee to deny."

I SWEAR TO IT!

Ha! Ha! Ha!



CUYAHOGA
COUNTY
Colored Delegation

SOLID FOR

GARFIELD

AND

ARTHUR



329



"BUSTED!

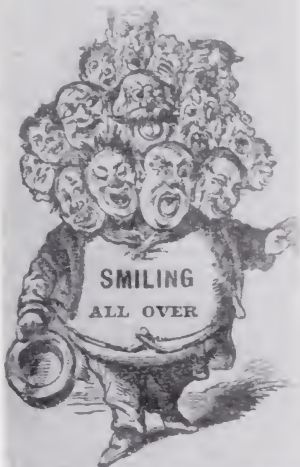
BY CAR-"FIELD.

porters had two weeks to refute the charges. As it was, the flap probably cost Garfield California and his Republicans control of the Senate, but could not prevent his narrow national victory over Winfield Scott Hancock.

As mementos of these scandalous charges, we have the "Telegraph It to the Boys Again" cartoon ribbon JAG-32, the clearly pro-Garfield JAG-31 ("NORWICH GARFIELD ROCKETS '329") and six hitherto unknown silks. "Where are ye, Morey-arity?," celebrates the mysterious H. L. Morey. Two others feature "329" and three feature Chinese caricatures. Three others use as a primary design motif a grinning Negro, widely used as a generic humor device during the period. "Telegraph It to the Boys" appears on three, including JAG-32, which also features the William H. English lament "Wouldn't have had this happen for 30 cts." What are we to make of these pieces?

Since these ribbons all exploit allegations of Republican wrongdoing, the natural inference is that they were anti-Garfield ribbons issued by Hancock's Democratic forces. Our knowledge of late nineteenth-century campaigns, however, tells us that "I Told You So" satirical ribbons were almost always issued by the winning party for post-election gloating and that these are in all likelihood pro-Garfield Republican pieces. The textual evidence is simply insufficient to determine definitively one way or another.

Ed Sullivan and I encountered this quandary with JAG-32, which Ed interpreted as a pro-Garfield item on the basis of his identification of the ducking figures as Hancock and English. I acceded to this, but thought then and think still that the figures in question more closely resembled Garfield and Arthur, that "329" was much



"Where are ye, Morey-arity?"

"Telegraph It To The Boys."



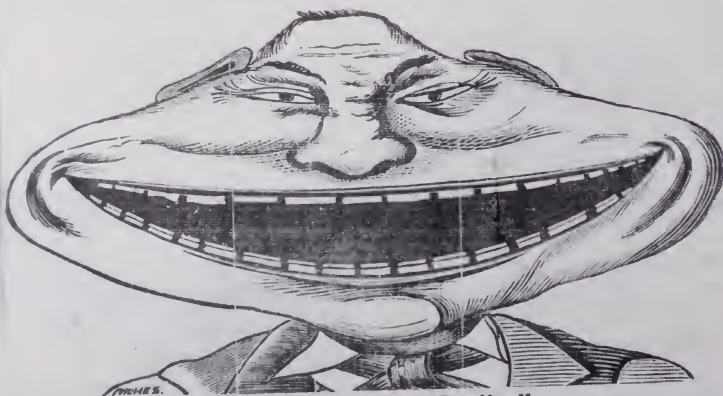
Well, I Should Smile!

BEAT US?

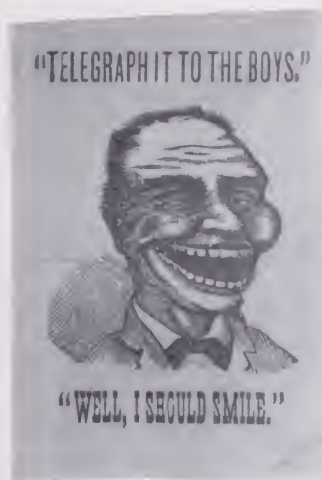


Not by a 329 Sight.

And Still we should Smile.



"Oxcuse me if I Smile."



more appropriately a “low bridge” for them than for the Democratic slate, and that the piece may well have been Democratic in origin. Clearly, these new ribbons featuring a grinning black man and “Well, I Should Smile,” “Smiling All Over — Where are ye, Morey-arity?,” “329 Busted! by Gar-Field,” and the hideous horizontal Chinese caricature “Oxcuse me if I Smile” all bear every indication of post-election Republican gloating pieces. Yet the “Garfield Laboring Man” ribbon celebrating his duplicity on the Chinese labor issue appears to be an anti-Garfield Democratic artifact. Other than as a reference to Garfield’s receipt of the Morey letter by telegraph, I cannot explain the rich wit in “Telegraph it to the Boys,” and I am stumped by the English reference to thirty cents.

In short, these outstanding ribbons acquired by Joe Brown might be 1880 Democratic anti-Garfield campaign items, Republican post-election put-down gloats, or non-partisan vendor items mocking the general political process. I do not know. What is not in doubt is the outstanding historical significance of these fine pieces and the light they shed on political satire in a genteel age.★

COLLECTOR'S CORNER



Editor's Note: In the Summer 1981 Keynote, we featured an article by Roger Fischer, "Teddy and Equality." This was the first serious examination in any publication of the equality memorabilia used in the

1904 campaign. Now, Michael Kelly reexamines the materials and suggests a further refinement in how we view these fascinating items.

A Second Look At The EQUALITY BUTTONS

By Michael Kelly



1



2



3

Among American presidents, few have inspired as intense admiration as has Theodore Roosevelt. Among collectors of political Americana, few TR items have inspired as much interest as have the "Equality" buttons. By now it is a familiar story of how the famed Black educator Booker T. Washington was invited to dinner at the White House by President Roosevelt and how that simple courtesy enraged Southern racists and encouraged Black Americans.

There are several versions of the button and two contradictory explanations for their purpose. Some look on them as a symbol of Black pride while others consider them a devious political trick aimed at inflaming white prejudice.

I believe that both views are correct and that observation of the known examples of "Equality" buttons can show us which buttons filled which purpose.

There are three known versions of the "Equality" button. Two are listed in the third volume of Ted Hake's political buttons book and all three appear in the Don Warner auction catalogue. For ease in reference, I will designate the buttons as follows; Equality #1, which I believe to be the original version, is unlisted in Hake but is Warner #256, Equality #2 is Hake #3216 and Warner #257 while Equality #3 is Hake #3217 and Warner #255. See the illustrations accompanying this article for quick reference.

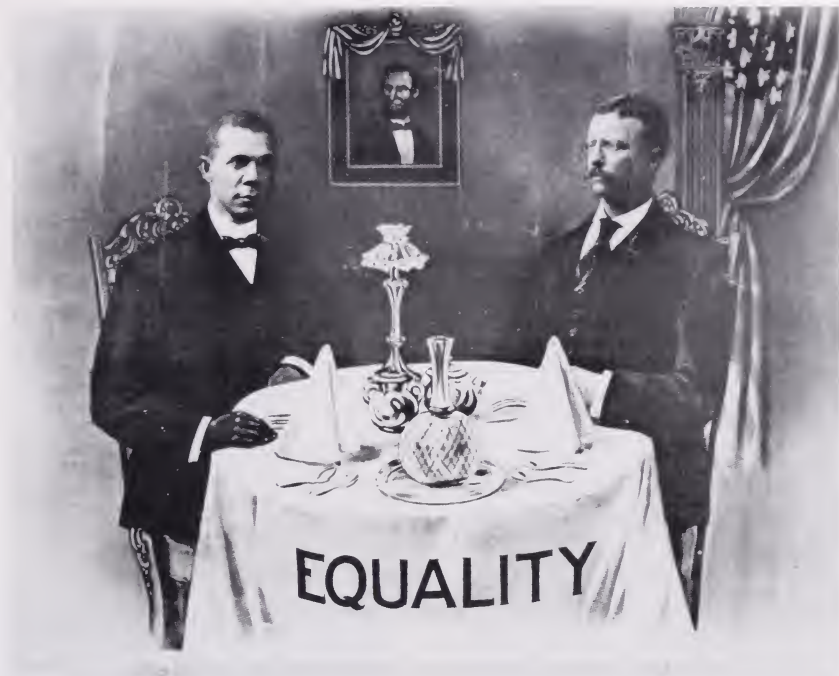
Equality #1 appears to be the original because it is the same picture that appears on the Thomas print commonly found in Black homes during the era, and accurately

portrays both TR and Washington. On the table is a crystal decanter that could contain either wine or water. There are no glasses on the table and both men are seated in similar positions behind the table, TR on the right. In the print, a picture of Abraham Lincoln hangs on the wall and looks proudly over at Dr. Washington.

This appears to be an attempt to portray the event in a favorable light and to show the two men as genuinely equal. This version was issued by Charles H. Thomas in Chicago in 1903. A newspaper of the era described it thusly,

"Charles H. Thomas, a white Republican of Chicago has evolved a campaign button for which his party will not stand sponsorship. It represents Pres. Roosevelt at dinner with Booker T. Washington. Across the face of the picture is the word 'Equality.' 'The zealous Mr. Thomas wished to impress upon the colored brothers the idea that the only way to the higher life was to vote the Republican ticket. His brilliant idea is depicted in the campaign button. Thousands of buttons are being worn by colored men in Chicago, and the demand throughout the country is growing.'"

The print of the dinner created by Thomas was widely circulated during that era. In 1903, racial strife broke out in Indianola, Mississippi, when whites refused to accept President Roosevelt's appointment of a Black postmistress. During the troubles, two peddlers from Chicago were arrested in Indianola for distributing "obscene photographs" to local Blacks. The "obscene" pictures



Original Lithographic Print Issued by Charles H. Thomas
in 1903 and Used on the First "Equality" Buttons

were copies of the Thomas print of the famous dinner.

The story does not end there, however, which brings us to Equality #2 and #3.

Other versions of the "Equality" button began to appear with a different intention. Looking at the other versions we note several striking changes. First, the Black man is no longer an accurate portrayal of Dr. Washington. He has been pictured as darker-skinned and thicker-haired than the educator. Second, he has been moved from the left of the picture to the right (perhaps with the thought that being seated on the right is a sign of honor). Third, instead of both men being seated behind the table, the Washington figure is seated in front while TR is relegated to sit behind, making the black man more prominent. Fourth and most telling, in both later versions a bottle of wine or whiskey is clearly visible on the table and both men are holding glasses in their hands. This was an era of strong Prohibitionist feelings and even among drinkers the sharing of a glass of spirits was a sign of bonding and close personal feeling.

President Roosevelt himself took note of these buttons in a letter to an editor after the 1904 campaign. TR wrote,

"These campaign buttons were distributed by the Democratic committees not merely in Tennessee but in Maryland, in southern Indiana, in West

Virginia, in Kentucky, and elsewhere where it was believed that they could do damage to the Republican cause, and especially to me. The Tennessee Republican leaders were hurt materially by the use of this button, and it was one of the disreputable campaign tricks which they had to meet and try to overcome."

A newspaper of the time described it this way,

"Several months ago a button appeared showing the President and a negro dining together. It was labeled 'Equality' and was calculated to make Roosevelt unpopular among people to whom the race question is a live issue...Senator Gorman, a Democratic aspirant for the presidency, is said to have had a hand in circulating the button, believing it would harm the President seriously in the southern states."

The hopeful in question was Maryland Senator Arthur P. Gorman, a Democratic contender in 1904.

So my explanation of the "Equality" buttons is that #1 was put out to honor the Roosevelt-Washington dinner, while #2 and #3 were put out to exploit it in a negative way. It is merely a theory but it may shed some light on one of the most interesting stories in the history of campaign buttons.★

THE OREGON'S DASH AROUND THE HORN

By William Alley

"We have already made one of the grandest runs on record. Just think of it, a first class battleship making 480 miles in just sixteen days and used 900 tons of coal, that being the longest trip on record for a first class battleship." So wrote a young sailor in 1898 after the first leg of the battleship *Oregon's* epochal dash around the Horn to join the Atlantic Fleet's preparations for war with Spain.

With war almost inevitable after the destruction of the U'SS *Maine*, the Navy Department was faced with a serious dilemma. Navy doctrine called for the concentration of the fleet to meet the enemy, but one of the three new battleships, the USS *Oregon*, was stationed on the west coast, where she had been built. It was decided to order the *Oregon* to undertake the still perilous voyage around the tip of South America.

Authorized in 1890 and commissioned in 1896, the *Oregon* had serious design restrictions imposed upon it by Congress. Congressional desire for a "coastal defense" battleship led to limitations in her displacement. Her designers were forced to pack the necessary armor and guns on a small hull, giving the *Oregon* and her sister ships an extremely low freeboard and a limited supply of coal. In spite of these limitations, the *Oregon* was ordered to sail from the Naval Station on Puget Sound to San Francisco on March 7, 1898.

Upon her arrival in San Francisco, Captain Charles E. Clark became commander of the *Oregon*, replacing Captain B. J. McCormick, who had been "condemned by medical survey," the Navy's way of saying he had flunked his physical. With only a few days to acclimate himself to his new command, Clark received on March 12 orders to sail for Callao, Peru. The *Oregon* set sail on March 19.

The first leg of the voyage passed without incident. Captain Clark took advantage of the calm weather and instituted a program of constant drills in general quarters, gunnery, and damage control, fine tuning his crew for the war he was sure was coming. These drills were maintained throughout the voyage, as were the nightly concerts by the ship's band.

Once in the tropics, running the ship with fully stoked boilers presented Captain Clark with a serious problem. Insufficient ventilation in the engineering spaces and firerooms led to temperatures of 110 - 115 degrees, and to maintain the ship's speed, most of the fresh water produced on board would be needed for the boilers. After discussing this dilemma with his men, it was decided to maintain their speed and ration the water for the crew. What little ice produced in the galley was to be reserved for the firemen and coal passers.



Enlargement of 1 1/4" Button



The Shield from the bow of the U.S.S. Oregon - Portland, Oregon

In Callao, Peru, the *Oregon* refilled her coal bunkers and resumed her voyage south. As she neared the Straits of Magellan, the weather began to deteriorate. In heavy seas, the *Oregon*'s low freeboard made for a wet ride, with "the jackstays sometimes disappearing under the solid seas that swept all but the superstructure deck." Because of the violence of the storm, it was decided to drop anchor just inside the entrance of the Straits for the night. The next day the Straits were negotiated during a snowstorm.

At Punta Arenas, the ship's depleted coal supply was replenished and the *Oregon* met up with the gunboat USS *Marietta*. The two ships continued on their way to Rio de Janeiro, mindful of the rumors of a Spanish torpedo boat on everyone's tongues in Punta Arenas. As a precaution, the ships sailed without lights and with the crews sleeping at their stations. The *Marietta* was sent ahead to scout, and she threw barrels over the side for the *Oregon*'s crew to use for gunnery practice. On the night of April 30, the *Oregon* arrived at Rio.

That morning Clark cabled news of his arrival to an anxiously waiting Navy Department that had not heard from him since Callao. They informed Clark that war had been declared and that a Spanish fleet was believed to be somewhere in the West Indies. As the *Oregon* took on more coal, Clark received more instructions from Washington. His first orders, leaving his course of action to his own discretion, were followed by other conflicting orders, reflecting the Navy Department's own uncertainty. Exasperated, Clark cabled back, "Don't hamper me with instructions. I am not afraid, with this ship, of the whole Spanish fleet." Washington concurred.

Should the Spanish fleet appear, it was Clark's inten-

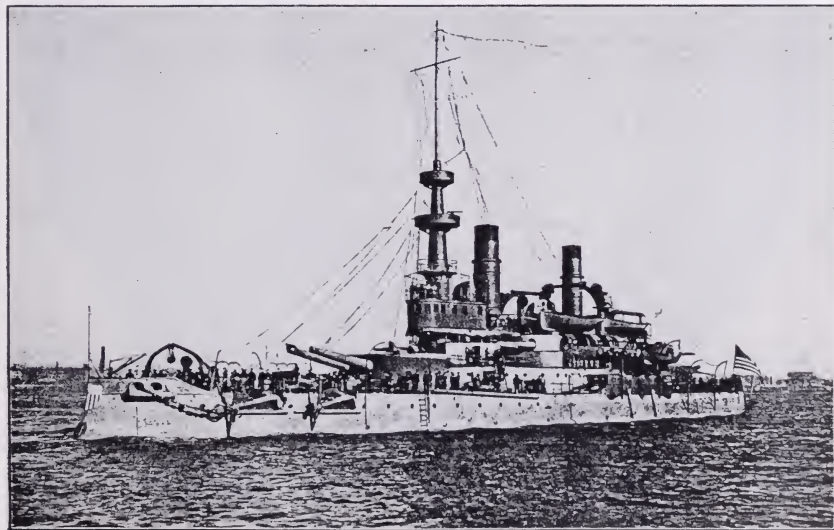
tion to initiate a running battle. By steaming away from the enemy at full speed, he hoped to stretch out the line of Spanish ships and then turn on them with his heavy thirteen inch guns and destroy each ship in turn. In spite of his planning, however, the Spanish fleet did not appear.

The only ship sighted was the little sloop *Spray*, homeward bound from a single-handed round the world cruise by Jason Slocum. Slocum was unaware of the war, and after declining any assistance offered by the *Oregon* signaled, "Let us keep together for mutual protection." The *Oregon* was, by then, too far away to read the signal.

Stopping briefly at Bahia, Brazil, the *Oregon* received orders to proceed on to Key West. Sailing outside the Windward Islands, the *Oregon* put in at Barbados, where the British Governor invoked the neutrality laws, requiring the battleship to leave in twenty-four hours. In a show of sympathy for the Americans, however, the authorities would not start timing until sunrise of the next day.

Leaving Barbados, the *Oregon* sailed with all her lights on directly for Key West, but after about five miles extinguished her lights and doubled back on her course to confuse any Spanish spies reporting the ship's movements. On the night of May 24 the *Oregon* arrived at Jupiter Inlet, Florida, where she received orders to join the Atlantic Squadron at Dry Tortugas. When asked the condition of his ship after such a long, hard voyage, Clark reported that the *Oregon* was mechanically fit and needed only coal.

The voyage of the *Oregon* was an astounding achievement for its day. In sixty-six days the *Oregon* had travelled 14,500 miles, with an average speed of 11.6 knots, a speed record that was to stand for many years. The *Oregon*'s



U.S.S. Oregon

arrival eased the fears of the Navy Department that now had a fleet ready to meet the Spanish. For the first time a modern steel battleship had demonstrated the ability to travel long distances at sustained high speeds and still be prepared for immediate action. This legacy is still part of Navy doctrine.

Because of the immense popular support for the navy generated by the *Oregon's* voyage, Congressional limitations on vessel displacement eroded, clearing the way for newer improved battleships. The most significant effect of

the *Oregon's* voyage, however, was much greater.

To the naval theorists of the day, such as Alfred Thayer Mahan, and their disciples, such as Theodore Roosevelt, the long voyage of the *Oregon* spotlighted the need for a canal across Central America. As summed up by Commander John D. Alden, USN, the *Oregon's* voyage "so stimulated popular support of the navy and crystallized the urgency for building a canal through the isthmus of Panama that the most obtuse reactionary could not hold on against the groundswell of public demand."★

ITEMS OF INTEREST:

This is the mate to the 6" Hughes "Undiluted Americanism" button shown on the cover of the Spring 1988 Keynoter.



Editor's Note: As we watch the figurative and literal dismantling of the "Iron Curtain," and its stone epitome, the Berlin Wall, The Keynoter looks back on

the beginnings of the Cold War, and its apt characterization by Winston Churchill in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946.

CHURCHILL and TRUMAN

THE IRON CURTAIN SPEECH

By John Pendergrass

One of the most significant speeches of the post World War II era took place in a small college town in the heart of America. Winston Churchill, speaking less than a year after the British, American, and Russian allies had triumphed in Europe, called the world's attention to the Soviet Union's expansionist tendencies and her failure to honor peace conference pledges. His speech signaled the end of the peaceful honeymoon with Soviet Russia that had existed in the minds of many Americans after World War II. The eloquent Englishman also used the occasion to popularize a phrase that became part of the Cold War vocabulary, "the Iron Curtain."

Churchill's remarks occurred at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946. The previous October, Franc L. McCluer, president of the school, read that Churchill was planning a vacation in the United States during the coming winter. The wartime prime minister was now a private citizen, having been replaced in July 1945 by an ungrateful electorate who voted in Clement Atlee's Labour Party. Westminster College had a privately endowed fund that helped bring prominent speakers to the campus, so McCluer wrote Churchill and invited him to give the Green Foundation Lecture.

Before making the letter, McCluer visited Washington and conferred with a former Westminster College classmate, Brig. General Harry Vaughn. Vaughn was the close friend and aide of a third Missourian, President Harry S.

Truman. Vaughn promptly took McCluer in to see Truman, who thought the invitation was a great idea. The President penned a note on the bottom of McCluer's letter: "This is a wonderful school in my home state. Hope you can do it. I'll introduce you. Best regards, Harry S. Truman." Churchill accepted a few weeks later and one of the most important events of the coming Cold War was set in motion.

Churchill came to the United States in January and spent a leisurely six weeks in Miami Beach. In February, Truman visited the Prime Minister, who gave him the general outline of his talk. The press was aware that Churchill's speech would be an important address on international affairs.

On March 4, the two leaders departed by a special Baltimore and Ohio train from the station in Silver Springs, Maryland. A large entourage of aides and newsmen were aboard. The trip, like many of Churchill's outings, was quite remarkable. The Prime Minister astonished Truman with his detailed knowledge of Civil War battlefields. He quoted the poet John Greenleaf Whittier at length and recalled his visits with Franklin Roosevelt. Truman assigned Vaughn the task of keeping Churchill well stocked with liquor. After pouring his first drink, the Prime Minister held the glass up to the light and observed, "When I was a young subaltern in the South African war, the water was not fit to drink. To make it palatable we had to add whiskey. By diligent effort, I

**WELCOME
TRUMAN — CHURCHILL
TO MISSOURI**

learned to like it." And like it he did; one magazine reported that, "According to his custom, before dinner Churchill rapidly downed five Scotch highballs."

Truman enjoyed the journey also. At one point, the President put on an engineer's cap and gloves and took the throttle of the diesel locomotive for twenty-five miles.

On the morning of March 5, the train arrived in Jefferson City and was greeted by President McCluer, Missouri Governor Phil Donnelly and a host of local dignitaries. The entourage traveled by motorcade to nearby Fulton where 25,000 lined the streets to greet the two leaders. Over 15,000 requests had been received for tickets, but the college gymnasium could seat only 2600. The four major radio networks, the movie newsreels, and all the nation's major newspapers were there. The last time the town of 6500 had seen such excitement was in 1875, when Jefferson Davis visited.

Churchill and Truman stopped at President McCluer's home for a lunch of country ham and fried chicken. Churchill enjoyed the meal, noting, "the pig has reached its highest point of evolution in this ham." An after dinner brandy followed before Churchill donned his scarlet Oxford robe to join Truman in the processional to the gymnasium.

After the invocation and short greetings from Governor Donnelly and President McCluer, Truman introduced Churchill, observing that the Prime Minister "is one of the great men of the age. He is a great Englishman, but he is half American" (a reference to Churchill's American mother, Jenny).

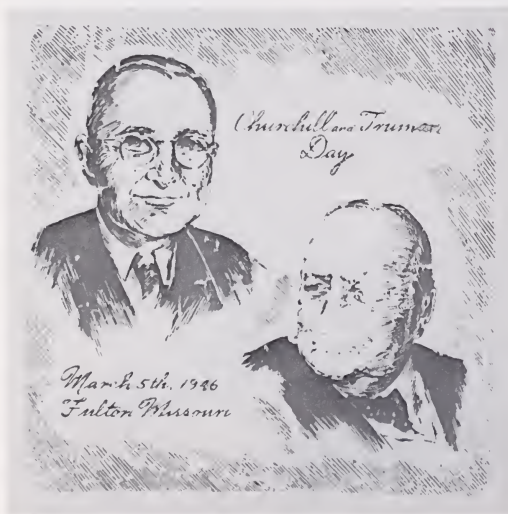
Churchill began by emphasizing the need for a strong United Nations armed force to enforce the peace; but he quickly disposed of the then fashionable idea of sharing

the United State's nuclear technology with the rest of the world. "It would be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge of the atomic bomb to the world organization [United Nations] while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and ununited world."

The best hope for peace, the Prime Minister continued, was a "fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples. This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States of America."

Churchill then came to the crux of his address—the real threat to world peace came from the Soviet Union. "Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist Internationale organization intends to do, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies." A new political alignment in post war Europe now existed.

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, and Sofia, all those famous



Ceramic Tile





Admit Mrs. Thelma T. McCann To Gymnasium
(non-transferable)

Westminster College
John Findley Green Foundation Lecture
The Hon. Winston Churchill
President Harry S. Truman

Reserved Seat

Section G

Fulton, Missouri March 5, 1946
Campus opens 1:15 p.m. Doors close 2:45 p.m.

Nº 34

cities and the populations around them, lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow."

Churchill then accurately assessed Stalinist Russia's methods of operation. "From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness." The answer to the Russian menace he felt was straightforward. "If the western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them."

Following his speech, Churchill and Truman received honorary degrees and attended a reception for the families of the fifty-nine alumni of Westminster College who died in World War II.

Churchill's address produced a world-wide reaction. Russia, our former ally, now stood labeled as the enemy. Many felt that Truman, by escorting Churchill, introducing him, and applauding his speech was in agreement with the Prime Minister's remarks. Truman denied this, noting a week later in a letter to his family, "I think it did some good, although I am not yet ready to endorse Mr. Churchill's speech." A number of U.S. Senators believed that Churchill was trying to use the United States to revive British imperialism. Stalin called the address, "a dangerous act calculated to sow the seeds of discord among the Allied Governments. Mr. Churchill is now in the position of a firebrand of war." For many liberals, the decay of the United States-Soviet wartime alliance was an uncomfortable fact to face.

History of course has proven Winston Churchill correct. The one man who so accurately forecast World War II was also the first to focus the free world's gaze on the gathering Cold War.★

(Eisenhower vs. McCarthy, continued from page 27)
after the 1954 elections, John McClellan became chairman of the Subcommittee on Investigations, with Robert Kennedy serving as chief counsel. Joe was virtually ignored by a press that formerly doted on his every word. He played no significant role in the state or national elections of 1956.

McCarthy, a heavy drinker for many years, began to show the effects of chronic alcoholism. When seen in public, he appeared jaundiced and bloated; on several occasions he was hospitalized for detoxification.

Joe McCarthy died in May, 1957, from liver failure.

As McCarthy's principal biographer Thomas Reeves notes, the Senator took his toll on America. "He was guilty of frequent lying and slander. Untold hundreds of Americans suffered from his zeal to find and punish subversives. (The cliché is true: he did not discover a single Communist.) He disrupted two administrations and impeded serious congressional activity. He lent his support to a rigid foreign policy that would haunt the nation for generations. He backed efforts to curtail academic freedom and censure unpopular ideas. Evidence strongly suggests that he lowered morale throughout the federal government and damaged America's international prestige."

Yet, McCarthy could probably have been stopped at any time by Dwight Eisenhower. The President's authority and prestige would have likely prevailed in a clash with the Senator. Ultimately, Joe McCarthy, more than anyone else, was responsible for his own destruction.★

WE LIKE IKE
SALT & PEPPER
SET \$1 PPD.

Soldier of Democracy. This timely two piece set is a must. Gilded ceramic Head is for salt and rests on bust of the famous Eisenhower Jacket, for pepper. Hand painted.

MAKING GIFTS
YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO

Novelty Gift 1952

Politicking In The Early Republic

By Donald Ackerman

Americans have always taken a keen interest in politics, even though the interest has not always translated itself into tangible physical evidence. The fact that campaign buttons and ribbons were not produced in the pre-Jacksonian era does not mean that the electoral process was a distasteful chore relegated by the citizenry to its elected officials.

While modern day politics revolves around the electronic media, politics of the Early Republic depended on the printed media, namely newspapers and pamphlets. Before the days of convention halls, the political arena manifested itself in town meetings, the local inn or tavern, the theatre, and clubs and societies, such as the Tammany Society in New York, founded in the 1790's.

The discussion of political issues did not consist exclusively of scholarly and philosophical tracts and partisan editorials. Music played a major role in the political life of the time. In the days before copyright laws, Tin Pan Alley, and ASCAP, originality and variety were not valued commodities. There were only a select number of tunes which attained widespread popularity. These "popular standards" saw service for decades at a time. Anyone could freely make use of them and it was common practice to substitute one's own lyrics for those of the original, to suit the subject at hand.

Perhaps the most famous use of a recycled melody would be "The Star-Spangled Banner," originally titled "The Defense of Fort McHenry" and based on the "Anacreontic Song" of 1779. Two other noteworthy examples include "Yankee Doodle" and "God Save the King," both of which had liberal adaptations over a period of many years. Political partisans would write satirical lyrics to the tune of "Yankee Doodle" and publish them in the prominent journals of their city and in handbill form. The lyrics might refer to scandalous rumors involving a political opponent or to topical controversies (trade embargoes, wars, taxes, etc.). The published song might evoke another song in response in an opposition paper. The songwriters' feud would play itself out as long as public interest could be maintained. These songs would be performed in taverns throughout the area or on the stage.

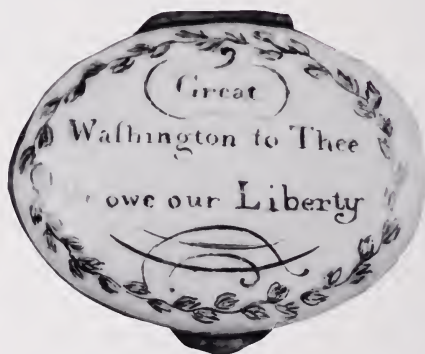
While music constituted the bread & butter of political life in the early republic, it did provide inspiration for at least two pieces of contemporary political china, pictured here.

The first item is a Battersea box with black & white decorated lid. In conjunction with this item, we reprint a song that appeared on December 26, 1781 in the "New-Jersey Journal," sung to the tune of "God Save the King"-

From the Americ shore,
The vast Atlantic o'er,
Shout-"Washington!"

Americans all unite
To do the hero right
Our glory—boast—delight
High in renown.

See o'er the British Peer
He rides the grand career
Of Victory.



Washington Battersea Pillbox - Enlarged



Jefferson Liverpool Transfer Pitcher - Reduced

At his advance the foe
Lay their proud standards low,
And, by these tokens, show
America's free.

An army in parade
Captives, at length are made;
The deed is done.

America triumphs free;
Laws, Rights, and Liberty,
Next God, we owe to thee,
Great Washington.

It seems apparent that the slogan on the Battersea box was derived from the last verse of this song. With this in mind, we can presume accuracy in dating the box as 1782.

Also pictured is a Liverpool jug for Thomas Jefferson. The same jug was later reissued with an identical portrait, but inscription relating to James Madison. Both jugs owe their inspiration to the song "Hail Columbia", written in 1798 by Joseph Hopkinson, and enthusiastically sung by the Federalists in support of President John Adams. The original music for "Hail Columbia" was written in 1789 by Phillip Phile and entitled "The President's March" and is believed to have been played at Washington's first inaugural procession in New York. The fact that words & music composed for Washington and Adams were subsequently "borrowed" to honor the Anti-Federalists Jefferson and Madison seems to have been of no consequence.

The text on the Jefferson jug consists of the following:

Hail Columbia happy land
Hail ye patriotic band

Who late opposed oppressive laws
And now stand firm in freedom's cause
Rejoice for now the storm is gone
Columbia owns her chosen son
The rights of man shall be our boast
And Jefferson our favorite toast
Republicans behold your chief
He comes to give your fears relief
Now armed in virtue firm and true
Looks for support to Heaven and you.

The corresponding lines from "Hail Columbia":

Hail Columbia happy land
Hail ye heroes heav'n born band
Who fought & bled in freedoms cause
Who fought & bled in freedoms cause
And when the storm of war was gone
Enjoyed the peace your valor won
Let Independence be our boast
Ever mindful what it cost
Behold the Chief who now commands
Once more to serve his Country stands
But arm'd in virtue firm and true
His hopes are fix'd on heav'n and you.

The use by British china manufacturers of American patriotic songs should tell us something about political life at the time—how people expressed themselves and their degree of involvement. It should also indicate to us that the "explosion" of Jacksonian democracy did not occur in a vacuum, but had its origins and foundations in the songs of the period.★

ITEMS OF INTEREST



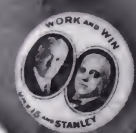
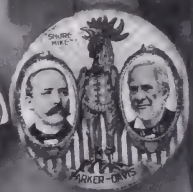
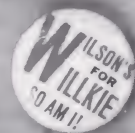
Button issued for Fiftieth
Anniversary of Notification
Ceremony in Elwood, Indiana



ROOSEVELT

**OCT. 31, 1940
AUDITORIUM
ST. LOUIS**

**LABOR RALLY
A.P. of L.C. Local
Railroad Brotherhood**



Anacond

IN H
PR
ROOS
V
BUTTE
MA



EISENHOWER vs. McCARTHY

By John Pendergrass

From the moment he became a candidate for the presidency in 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower was faced with the problem of Joe McCarthy.

The junior senator from Wisconsin was the country's leading anti-communist and enjoyed immense popular support. Throughout the early 1950's, McCarthy had used indiscriminate allegations, unsubstantiated charges, guilt by association, half truths, and other questionable techniques in his search for Communists and fellow travelers in the federal government. Joe insisted that the Truman administration was loaded with subversives and he was determined to uncover them, no matter who got hurt. McCarthy had no intention of treading softly in his battle with the Reds. As he sometimes told his critics, "a rough fight is the only fight Communists understand."

Many Americans agreed with McCarthy. After all, recent events had convinced them of the reality of the Communist menace. In 1948, Richard Nixon and the House Committee on Un-American Activities had exposed Alger Hiss; the great swarming land mass of China was "lost" to the Communists in 1949; U.S. Troops had been locked in a bloody battle with the Reds in Korea since 1950; that same year, the Soviet atomic spy Klaus Fuchs had been arrested. No less an authority than FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover told a group of senators that the United States contained about 540,000 Communists and fellow travelers.

Eisenhower was faced with a dilemma. Like many of his fellow citizens, he agreed with McCarthy's general goals but detested his methods. How could Ike condemn McCarthyism without appearing to be soft on Communism?

Many members of the press, as well as several of his key advisors, urged Eisenhower to denounce McCarthy publicly. By taking the high road, they argued, Ike could appeal to independents and moderates. Besides, they pointed out, McCarthy was not a person you could deal with.

Eisenhower decided otherwise. Instead of attacking McCarthy, Ike chose to ignore the Senator. Although he was privately known to despise the man, Eisenhower never once spoke critically of McCarthy, by name, in public. Not once. Ike felt that Joe thrived on criticism and controversy and would benefit from any clash with the President. As he once observed, "No one has been more insistent and vociferous in urging me to challenge McCarthy than the people who have built him up, namely, writers, editors, and publishers." On another occasion, Eisenhower put it less eloquently, noting, "I just won't get into a pissing contest with that skunk." Ike also had more pragmatic reasons for avoiding a fight with McCarthy. Joe was a Republican and the President, while he fussed and fumed in private, almost always publicly endorsed the members of his party. More importantly, Ike

needed Joe's vote in the Senate to help pass his programs.

Eisenhower's policy of watchful waiting is one of the most criticized areas of his presidency. True, Ike gave Joe enough rope for the Senator to hang himself, but before the end came McCarthy conducted a hit-and-run inquisition that damaged the lives of many innocent people.

Prior to 1950, Joe McCarthy was a little known freshman senator who had impressed very few people. Born in 1908, he graduated from Marquette University law school and was later elected circuit judge. McCarthy served as a Marine intelligence officer in the South Pacific in World War II, greatly exaggerating his combat exploits and later laying claim to fictitious war wounds. In 1944, the self-proclaimed "Tail Gunner Joe" unsuccessfully challenged incumbent Senator Alexander Wiley. McCarthy received nearly 80,000 votes however, and gained valuable name recognition. Two years later, Joe opposed Robert LaFollette, Jr., a 21 year veteran of the Senate. LaFollette, a heavy favorite, stayed in Washington for most of the campaign while McCarthy diligently crisscrossed the state courting the voters. McCarthy edged LaFollette by 5,396 votes and went on to crush his Democratic opponent, Howard McMurray, in the general election. Joe, in a sign of things to come, labeled McMurray "Communistically inclined."

At age 38, McCarthy was the youngest member of the Senate. He worked on ending sugar rationing, dabbled in housing legislation, and also championed the cause of German prisoners of war alleged to have committed atrocities against captured American soldiers. Very little of this caught the attention of the Wisconsin voters though, and soon Joe would be faced with the difficult task of getting reelected.

In early 1950, McCarthy's fate changed almost overnight. He went from obscurity to notoriety in a matter of a few days. Joe's leap to prominence occurred, strangely enough, in Wheeling, West Virginia. The Senator, like many other Republican officials, had been scheduled to make a series of Lincoln Day speeches to help bolster the GOP faithful. McCarthy, a political lightweight, was booked in such places as Wheeling and Huron, South Dakota. None of his stops appeared likely to produce national headlines.

For his February 9 address in Wheeling, McCarthy brought along two speeches, one on federal housing and the other on Communists in government. At the urging of local officials, he chose the latter topic for his talk to the Ohio County Republican Women's Club. McCarthy's speech contained the standard anti-Communist rhetoric of the day. The shocker came when Joe noted, "I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Use this Blotter and Vote Straight Republican Tuesday, November 4th



EISENHOWER
FOR
PRESIDENT



NIXON
FOR
VICE PRES.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
For President
RICHARD M. NIXON
For Vice President



MELVIN R. LAIRD
For Congress



McCARTHY
FOR U. S.
SENATOR



KOHLER
FOR
GOVERNOR

SMITH
For Lieut. Governor

ZIMMERMAN
For Sec'y. of State

SMITH
For State Treasurer

THOMSON
For Attorney General

BUBOLZ . . . For State Senator
MAROTZ . . . For Assemblyman
DRUCKREY . . . For County Clerk

BEVERSDORF . . . For Co. Treasurer
EUL . . . For Sheriff
STUBENVOLL . . . For Coroner

KUMM . . . For Clerk of Court
EBERLEIN . . . For District Attorney
WENDT . . . For Register of Deeds

(Authorized and Paid for by the Republican Party of Shawano County)

The impact was immediate. McCarthy's statement was unique. Although many individuals had alleged that there were Communists in the government, Joe was the first to claim to be able to identify specific Communists, by name, in the State Department. McCarthy's charges became front page news across the country.

Joe's list of Communists was really no list at all. Rather it was a distortion of a 1946 letter from Secretary of State James Byrnes. Byrnes, in a letter to a congressman, noted that 3,000 case histories of State Department workers had been examined, resulting in a recommendation against permanent employment in 285 cases. Of these 285, 79 had been "separated from the service." McCarthy used faulty math in deducing that 205 Communists were still in the State Department. In fact, the word "Communist" was never even mentioned in Byrnes' letter.

In any case, the public and the Truman administration were clamouring for McCarthy's list. Joe, under pressure to produce his list of Reds, refused to give the names to the State Department unless they opened their loyalty files for his inspection, something he knew was specifically prohibited by an earlier order from Truman.

While the administration labored to refute McCarthy's charges, Joe was off and running. For many months he stayed in the headlines as Communists, subversives, and fellow travelers were "uncovered". Before one accusation could be investigated and answered, McCarthy had moved on to another. His liberal Senate colleagues fought ineffectively against the growing tide of McCarthyism. Joe attacked his opponents both on and off the Senate floor and in several instances personally campaigned in a senator's home state against his reelection.

As the 1952 campaign approached, McCarthy was certain of reelection. His name was synonymous with anti-communism across the country. Many Americans agreed with a Wisconsin farmer who said, "Yes, I guess almost everybody in this part of the country is for McCarthy. He's against Communism and we're against Communism. Besides, if he wasn't telling the truth, they'd a hung him long ago. He's one of the greatest Americans we've ever had."

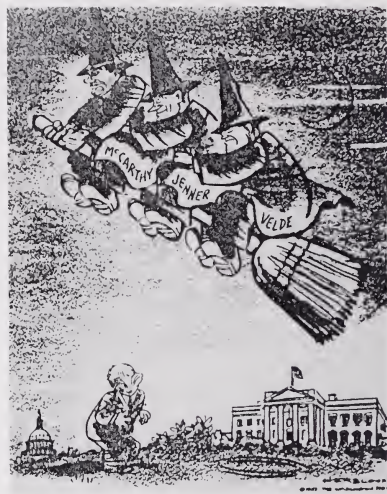
Robert Taft, eager for a Wisconsin victory, endorsed McCarthy early in 1952. In the April 1 primary, Taft handily outpolled Earl Warren and Harold Stassen to win all the convention delegates. Senator Richard Nixon addressed the Republican state convention in early June and spoke glowingly of the Wisconsin senator.

General Eisenhower, a late entry in the presidential race, resigned as commander of NATO forces and returned to the United States in early June to actively campaign for the nomination. At one of his first press conferences, Ike was asked about McCarthy but refused to comment stating that he would not "discuss personalities." Ike did point out that he (Eisenhower) was second to none in his desire to root out "Communist, subversive or pinkish influence" in the government. It was common knowledge among newsmen and friends that Eisenhower abhorred McCarthy. In 1951, the Senator had accused General George C. Marshall of being part of "a conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man. A conspiracy of infamy so black that, when it is finally exposed, its principals shall be forever deserving of the maledictions of all honest men." Marshall was Ike's mentor and the man most responsible for his rapid advancement in World War II. (Eisenhower had risen from the rank of lieutenant colonel to five-star general in less than four years.) Few other people were as admired and respected by Ike as was Marshall. McCarthy had also accused Paul Hoffman, chairman of the advisory committee of Citizens for Eisenhower, of being "soft" on Communism.

Throughout the contest for the Republican nomination for president, McCarthy was careful not to take sides, spending most of his time criticizing the Democrats. Just prior to the Republican National Convention in Chicago, he endorsed Douglas McArthur but stated that he would not campaign for his general during the convention because "both Senator Taft and General Eisenhower are outstanding men." After the delegates nominated Ike, McCarthy was happy to get on board the GOP bandwagon. Although Eisenhower was identified by many as an "East Coast Republican," he had a solid supporting cast of



"Steady Now, Pal—Don't Hamstring Me
In My Work"
2/25/1953



The New Broom
2/26/1953



"We Have Documentary Evidence That This
Man Is Planning A Trip To Moscow"
3/25/1953



"We Killed 'Em In Europe, Boss"
4/23/1953

conservatives. Nixon was the vice-presidential nominee, John Foster Dulles was the chief foreign policy spokesman, and Taft had finally come around after being actively courted by Ike. McCarthy, like many other Republicans, felt this was the year for the GOP to win the White House.

In September, Joe showed his muscle, soundly defeating Len Schmitt in the GOP primary 515,000 to 213,000. Most believed that McCarthy owed his victory to the Reds-in-government issue. Schmitt agreed, noting that "I think the Wisconsin people are voting against Stalin."

Ike had planned to stay out of Wisconsin during the 1952 campaign and avoid McCarthy altogether, but Joe's big primary victory convinced the General's aides of the need for a swing through the state. In addition, Governor Walter Kohler, a staunch Eisenhower supporter who was up for reelection, felt that the people of Wisconsin would be insulted if Ike skipped their state.

Eisenhower asked speechwriter Emmett John Hughes to come up with a tribute to George Marshall to be used by Ike during a speech in Milwaukee. Hughes' draft included a paragraph of warm praise for Marshall near the end of the address. News of the Marshall statement reached Wisconsin GOP leaders and on the evening prior to Eisenhower's visit, McCarthy, Kohler, and national committeeman Henry Ringling flew to Peoria, Illinois, to meet the Ike train before it rolled into Wisconsin. McCarthy spent thirty minutes alone with Eisenhower in the General's hotel suite. According to Kevin McCann, an Eisenhower aide, Ike "just took McCarthy apart. I never heard the General so cold-bloodedly skin a man. The air turned blue — so blue in fact that I couldn't sit there listening. McCarthy said damned little. He just grunted and groaned." Joe, by contrast, told reporters that the meeting with Ike had been "very, very pleasant".

The following day, as the campaign train "Look Ahead Neighbor" moved into Wisconsin, Eisenhower (according to his memoirs) lectured McCarthy on his "un-American methods in combating Communism" and told the Senator, "I'm going to say that I disagree with you." "If you say that, you'll be booed," McCarthy answered. "I've been booed before and being booed doesn't bother me," the General replied.

Ike's bark proved worse than his bite. When the train stopped in Green Bay, Eisenhower endorsed the entire slate of Republican candidates and told the audience that he and McCarthy differed only on methods, their purposes were the same. At the next stop in Appleton, Joe's home town, Ike consented to being introduced by McCarthy.

Meanwhile, several of Eisenhower's aides had been telling reporters covering the trip to just wait until Ike gets to Milwaukee, he was really going to let McCarthy have it. Governor Kohler, in an effort to keep the peace, was pleading with Eisenhower campaign chief Sherman Adams for Ike to drop the Marshall paragraph. Kohler felt the paragraph was out of place and would cost the Republicans plenty of votes in November. Adams presented Kohler's arguments to Eisenhower, who tersely agreed to delete the praise of Marshall. Ike had defended Marshall at an August 22 press conference in Denver and

had publicly backed the General on at least three other occasions during the campaign.

When Eisenhower spoke before 8,500 at Milwaukee Arena, reporters were primed to expect a tribute to Marshall and a rebuff of McCarthy. However, the Republican nominee not only omitted any reference to George Marshall, he also altered other portions of his speech in order not to offend McCarthy. The public outcry was loud and immediate. Newspaper columnists, political cartoonists, and others condemned Ike for capitulating to McCarthy. Adlai Stevenson said Eisenhower had given a first, second, and third mortgage "on every principle he once held."

As the campaign reached its final stages, McCarthy, a sure winner in Wisconsin, visited ten states on behalf of right wing candidates. He cautiously avoided Massachusetts where John F. Kennedy and Henry Cabot Lodge were locked in a tight race for the Senate. Joseph Kennedy had made a sizable contribution to McCarthy's reelection fund and had asked the Senator not to come. Lodge, needing help with the Irish vote, urgently requested Joe's help, but McCarthy set too stiff a price. Lodge would have to introduce him personally wherever he spoke and would have to wholly endorse his fight against the Reds.

On election day, Eisenhower won handily in Wisconsin and carried 38 other states. McCarthy's showing was less impressive. Joe won 54 percent of the vote in defeating his Democratic opponent, Thomas Fairchild. However, this was a full 7 percent less than Ike's margin of victory. Furthermore, out of the eleven Republicans on the Wisconsin ticket, McCarthy was dead last.

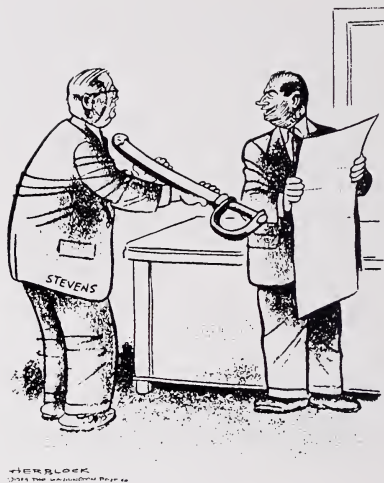
When the 83rd Congress convened, the Republicans were in charge of the White House and both houses of Congress for the first time since the days of Herbert Hoover. McCarthy became chairman of the Committee on Government Operations, as well as the Committee's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. The key assignments went to other Republicans and the GOP leadership felt that they had shuttled Joe aside. Taft, the new majority leader, noted, "We've got McCarthy where he can't do any harm." In reality, McCarthy had been given a free rein. His subcommittee had an investigative staff and was authorized to look into the "operation of all government departments at all levels." This broad mandate was all that Joe needed to go Red hunting.

Eisenhower felt that the primary responsibility for rooting out subversion in the federal government rested with the executive branch. He had made that point during the campaign and he reiterated it in his State of the Union Address. McCarthy believed otherwise, and a conflict between the two was inevitable. The Senator was not about to give up the issue—Communists in government—that had catapulted him to fame.

In the early days of the Eisenhower administration, an attempt was made to gain McCarthy's cooperation. Vice-President Nixon, who served over the years as a liaison between the administration and the far right, met with Joe and both agreed to a joint effort in rooting out Communists. Nixon's solution to the problem of McCarthy was to make Joe a "team player."



Nothing Exceeds Like Excess
9/12/1952



"Okay, Bud. When I Want You Again
I'll Send For You"
2/25/1954



"And I'd Still Like To See You
Become President"
2/26/1954



"Have A Care, Sir"
3/4/1954

McCarthy had to be pleased with the Republican administration's attack on subversives. John Foster Dulles sent a letter to 16,500 State Department and Foreign Service personnel demanding "positive loyalty". A new undersecretary post was created for the specific task of "housecleaning" in the State Department. A staunch McCarthy friend and ally, Scott McLeod, was named as the State Department's chief security officer. As far as Joe McCarthy was concerned, the country was finally ready to put an end to "twenty years of treason."

As Congress convened, it quickly became apparent that McCarthy was no team player after all. In February, Eisenhower nominated Charles E. "Chip" Bohlen as ambassador to Russia. With the Republicans holding a one vote majority in the Senate, Ike expected no problems. Bohlen, a career diplomat, had served as an interpreter and adviser at the Yalta Conference. During confirmation hearings, he failed an old guard litmus test when he would not repudiate the Yalta agreement. McCarthy was outraged. He and McLeod tried to implicate Bohlen as a security risk, a charge easily refuted. Ike stuck by the ambassador-designate, endorsed him publicly, and Bohlen, with a strong assist from Taft, was confirmed 74-13.

McCarthy's subcommittee wasted no time in launching a search for Communists. On February 12, Joe announced an investigation of possible "mismanagement," subversion, and kickbacks" in the Voice of America. The Voice was a large propaganda organization, employing 10,000 people, a major portion of the State Department payroll. The probe spread to include the available books in the libraries of 200 State Department centers in 63 countries. Roy Cohn and G. David Schine, McCarthy's top staffers, conducted a whirlwind tour across Europe, looking for subversive literature. In the end, some 418 writers were banned, including such a diverse group of "Communists and fellow travelers" as John Dewey, Arthur Schlesinger, Edna Ferber, Theodore White, and Whittaker Chambers. Nervous librarians quickly cleared the shelves of tainted material and in some cases literally burned the suspect volumes. State Department morale across the world was at a low point.

At Dartmouth commencement exercises, Eisenhower told graduates, "Don't join the book burners. Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed. Don't be afraid to go in your library and read every book." The press and public were delighted. At long last Ike was going to attack McCarthyism head on. A few days later, Eisenhower gently retreated. When asked by one reporter if he were being critical of McCarthy, Ike noted, "You've been around me long enough to know I never talk personalities." He also indirectly agreed with censorship of overseas libraries in certain cases.

McCarthy proved to be a hazard for the Eisenhower administration in more ways than one. On March 28, the Senator, flanked by assistant counsel Robert F. Kennedy, announced that he had personally negotiated an agreement with the Greek owners of 242 cargo vessels to break off all trade with Red China and Soviet bloc ports. In some cases, material delivered by these ships was being used in

Korea against American troops. McCarthy said that he had negotiated these agreements in secret because of their "extremely delicate" nature.

Joe was conducting foreign policy and Mutual Security Director Harold Stassen, the man who oversaw trade agreements, was furious. With Stassen accusing McCarthy of undermining his efforts, a clash between the administration and Joe seemed imminent. Nixon once again smoothed things over, arranging a meeting between McCarthy and Dulles. Dulles, undercutting Stassen, endorsed McCarthy's actions as being in the national interest. Throughout the episode Eisenhower sat by quietly, refusing to criticize McCarthy's intrusion into the executive branch.

Another symbol of McCarthy's influence on administration policy was the President's Executive Order 10450. Under this directive, the previous distinction between loyalty and security was eliminated. Henceforth, employees could be fired for security reasons that did not involve loyalty, such as alcoholism and homosexuality. The public could be led to think that these "security risks" were subversives. Before announcing the new security program, Ike called McCarthy and other right wingers to the White House to brief them on the details.

By late 1953, McCarthy's popularity was at an all time high. Francis Cardinal Spellman endorsed him; J. Edgar Hoover called him a friend; public support was tremendous. Many speculated that Joe had his eye on the White House in 1956. His fellow Republicans in the Senate were, by and large, afraid to challenge him. Democrats likewise wanted no part of McCarthy. Minority leader Lyndon Johnson said that Joe was a "Republican problem" and noted that, "I will not commit my party to some high school debate on the subject, 'Resolved that Communism is good for the United States,' with my party taking the affirmative".

In October, 1953, with much fanfare, McCarthy was called home from his honeymoon in the West Indies by Cohn to investigate Communist infiltration in the Army. The subcommittee initially examined a "trail of extremely dangerous espionage," at the Signal Corp installation at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. Eventually the investigation uncovered Irving Peress, a dentist at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey. Dr. Peress took the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in subversive organizations, refused to sign a loyalty oath, and would not answer McCarthy's questions during subcommittee hearings. While under investigation by Army Intelligence and the FBI, Peress was promoted to Major and later given an honorable discharge.

McCarthy was incensed at the "coddling" of the Army dentist. "Who promoted Peress?" became the question of the day. General Ralph Zwicker, a decorated World War II veteran and the commanding officer at Camp Kilmer, was called to testify. McCarthy browbeat and bullied Zwicker, telling the General, among other things, that he did not have "the brains of a five year old child" and was "not fit to wear" his uniform. Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens was indignant at McCarthy's shabby treatment of Army

personnel and instructed Zwicker not to appear before the subcommittee. McCarthy responded by ordering the Secretary to testify. Once again, a conflict between McCarthy and the Eisenhower administration seemed certain.

Senator Karl Mundt, a McCarthy ally, arranged a meeting between Joe and Stevens to help resolve the issue. The two principals met for lunch in Everett Dirksen's office and struck up a deal. Joe would quit abusing witnesses in return for Stevens' promise to allow further testimony by Zwicker and to release the names of everyone involved in the promotion and honorable discharge of Peress. McCarthy announced to the press, who much to Stevens' surprise had been informed of the meeting, that the Secretary would allow Zwicker and other Army personnel to testify. Joe didn't mention that he had promised to act responsibly.

As a result, Secretary Stevens appeared to the public to have capitulated completely to McCarthy. "Retreating Robert" as he was dubbed, was humiliated; many expected his resignation.

Ike backed Stevens publicly. The Secretary issued a strong statement from the White House noting that "I shall never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstances." Press Secretary James Hagerty told reporters that the President "endorses it 100 percent." At a later press conference, Eisenhower admitted that the Army had made serious errors in handling the Peress case, but added that Stevens was taking steps to correct them. As usual, Ike never mentioned McCarthy by name.

Although Eisenhower avoided directly criticizing McCarthy by name, the President's intense dislike of the Senator surfaced on more than one occasion. After

Vermont Senator Ralph Flanders delivered a blistering attack of McCarthy on the Senate floor, Ike told reporters that Flanders was doing a "service" by criticizing divisive elements in the Republican Party.

The simmering conflict between Joe McCarthy and the Eisenhower administration finally came to a head in the spring of 1954. The Army, tired of trying to placate McCarthy, took the offensive. In a carefully detailed bill of charges, the service alleged preferential treatment for G. David Schine by Senator McCarthy and his chief counsel, Roy Cohn. Schine, a draftee, was a former subcommittee staff member and a close friend of Cohn. After failing to have Schine commissioned as an officer, McCarthy and Cohn interceded with the Army on multiple occasions to obtain special leave, passes, and assignments for their friend. McCarthy countered with the claim that the Army was sheltering subversives and was using Schine as a "hostage" to block the investigation by the subcommittee. The dispute would be resolved in the Army-McCarthy hearings.

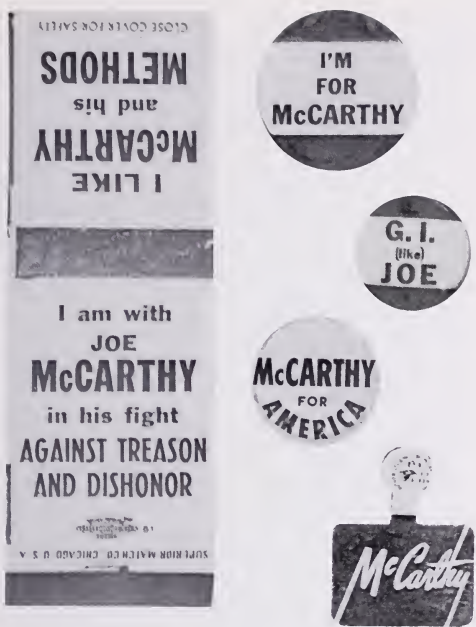
McCarthy initially planned to chair the hearings but stepped aside when Eisenhower and others opposed the right of an individual to sit in judgement on himself. Joe did retain the right to cross-examine and subpoena witnesses. The hearings were one of the first of what has become an ongoing political sideshow, the televised congressional hearing. Over 20 million Americans watched during a 36 day period as some 187 hours were devoted to the proceedings. The Senate caucus room was packed with the largest audience to ever view a congressional hearing. The Army-McCarthy hearings were great theater. Although they centered around Private Schine, the basic issue was McCarthy versus Eisenhower.



Pussyfootprints On The Sands Of Time
8/3/1954



12/3/1954



Under the klieg lights, McCarthy's true character surfaced for all the nation to see. Joe continually interrupted the hearings to raise a "point of order" — a procedural subterfuge he used hundreds of times to interject commentary. More importantly, McCarthy looked the role of a television villain. His 5 o'clock shadow, balding head, unsmiling face, and monotone voice led Roy Cohn to reflect "central casting couldn't have come up with a better one."

The hearings dealt with complex and detailed charges. Personalities rather than matters of substance caught the public's eye. Secretary Stevens testified for 13 days, generally presenting a sincere, if somewhat bumbling, image. McCarthy countered throughout with anger, sarcasm, and malice. Joe hit rock bottom near the end of the hearings with his cruel and reckless attack on Fred Fisher. Fisher, an associate of Army counsel Joseph Welch, had belonged to the National Lawyers Guild, a suspect organization, many years previously. Welch left him off his counsel staff and both sides agreed the membership was irrelevant and would not be raised during the hearings. McCarthy, in a fit of anger, lambasted Fisher before a nationwide audience. Welch, who bested McCarthy throughout the hearings, castigated the Senator, asking him at one point, "Have you no sense of decency, Sir?" After seeing McCarthy in action for days and days, many Americans wondered the same thing.

Throughout the spring, Eisenhower watched patiently as the hearings progressed. He invoked the doctrine of executive privilege and ordered members of the executive branch not to testify before the committee on security

information or concerning personal advice exchanged between superior and subordinate. Ike hoped to keep a probing McCarthy from investigating the Robert Oppenheimer case (the father of the atomic bomb had recently had his security clearance revoked.)

Eisenhower told a news conference that he hoped the affair would end quickly. Ike felt that the hearings had damaged the nation's self-respect and injured its international prestige. He gave full support to Secretary Stevens.

After much ado, the Army-McCarthy hearings finally did conclude and the committee issued a total of four reports with various interpretations. In general, all concluded that Cohn exceeded the authority of his office, that McCarthy was to blame for not controlling Cohn, and that Secretary Stevens was guilty of an appeasement toward Cohn and McCarthy. The reports were issued over two months after the hearings concluded, but by then they sparked little interest. Roy Cohn had seen the handwriting on the wall and had resigned as subcommittee counsel. McCarthy's approval rating in public opinion polls had dropped markedly following his television exposure.

More importantly, Joe was now under attack from his Senate colleagues. Vermont Republican Ralph Flanders submitted a resolution of censure to the Senate which was considered by a six-man bipartisan committee headed by Senator Arthur Watkins. The committee unanimously recommended that McCarthy be censured, labeling his statements and conduct "vulgar and insulting" and "contemptuous, contumacious, and denunciatory, without reason or justification."

The full Senate considered the matter in special session after the November 1954 elections. Many of the lawmakers were ready to vote against censure or at least to consider a less stringent penalty. All they wanted was some indication from McCarthy that he was repentant and would clean up his act. Joe was defiant to the end, telling Everett Dirksen, "I will never let them think I would ever crawl."

On December 2, the Senate voted 67 to 22 to condemn Senator Joseph McCarthy.

McCarthy's censure formalized the break between Eisenhower and McCarthy. A few days after the censure vote, Ike invited Senator Watkins to the White House for a 45 minute talk. Hagerty reported that the President congratulated Watkins on a "very splendid job." Joe responded with a statement accusing Eisenhower of a "shrinking show of weakness against the Communists." He apologized for having campaigned for Ike in 1952. McCarthy later called Eisenhower's brother Milton the "unofficial president" and "one of the most left-wingers you can find in the Republican party." By early 1955, Senator McCarthy was persona non grata at the White House. He was the only committee chairman who didn't receive an invitation to one of the two dinners held for Senate leaders. The First Lady's secretary pointed out that the omission was intentional and resulted from "a decision by the President and Mrs. Eisenhower."

McCarthy finished his career as a little noticed obstructionist. When the Democrats gained control of the Senate

(Continued on page 15)

THE 1948 STATES RIGHTS PARTY: The Southern Viewpoint

By Robert Fratkan

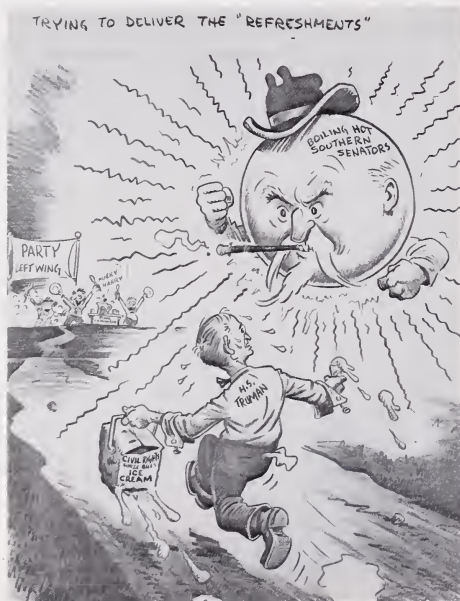
Unless you are over 60 and were born and raised in the South, your ideas about the States Rights Party movement in the 1948 election have been shaped by knowledge of the events that occurred in the intervening years. Viewed in the light of subsequent history, it is clear that the SRP failed in its major objectives, to defeat President Truman's reelection bid, to "save" the Democratic Party and to maintain "segregation forever."

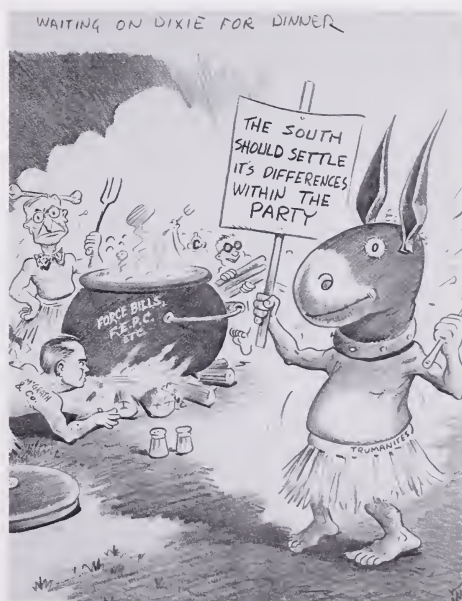
But to most Southern voters and politicians, the situation in 1948 was much different: The States Rights Party represented the true heritage of the Democratic Party, only temporarily in the hands of a fringe liberal group; Strom Thurmond was an American hero, fighting against a pantheon of archvillains, Harry Truman, Henry Wallace, Hubert Humphrey and the turncoat, Alben Barkley. The southern delegates to the 1948 Democratic National Convention walked out of the convention when a civil rights platform plank was passed, after rejection of a proposed states rights plank regressive to the civil rights goals of northern democrats. These frustrated delegates and other disenchanting southerners formed the States Rights Party, nominating Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding Wright, Governor of Mississippi, to be their nominees in the coming election.

In 1948, President Truman ordered the desegregation of the armed forces, campaigned vigorously, and shocked the experts by winning reelection. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that school segregation was inherently unequal, and therefore unconstitutional. With the Montgomery bus boycott, the abolition of poll taxes, freedom riders, voter registration drives and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the South would never be the same again. But the SRP had succeeded in permanently changing the presidential voting patterns of southern white voters, and the Democratic Party would never again be able to count on the "Solid South" in plotting election strategy.

During the 1948 campaign, John "Jack" Knox was the editorial cartoonist for the Nashville Banner. Knox, born August 18, 1910, drew political cartoons for the Banner from 1946 to 1970. Previously, he had been with the Memphis Commercial Appeal. Knox was one of the leading cartoonists of the period and won numerous awards for his work. He died February 23, 1985.

In the following pages, the Nashville Banner's editorial cartoons by Knox show clearly the complaints against the national Democrats and the Truman agenda, and the "righteous" indignation of the States Rights "crusade" during the 1948 campaign.





THE TREMULOUS STAND OF THE TRUMANITE



WHO SAID HE WOULDN'T, COULDN'T SWING IT?!

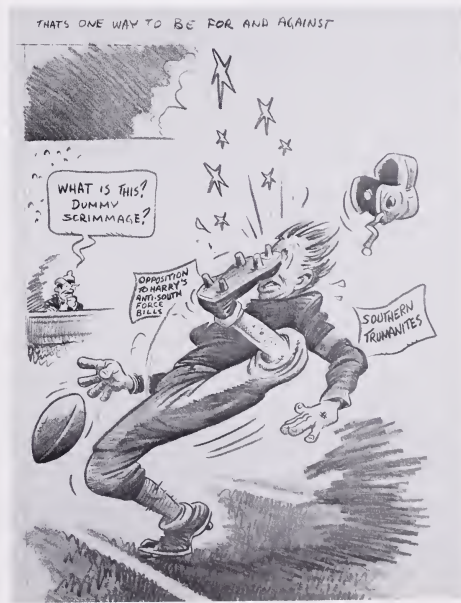
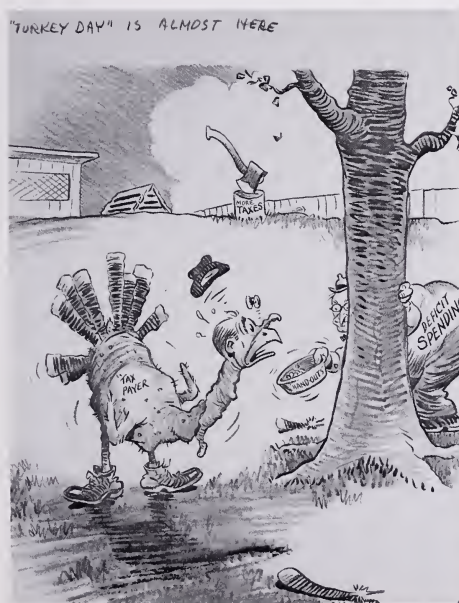


THERE ARE OTHER CLAIMANTS TO 'THE MANDATE'

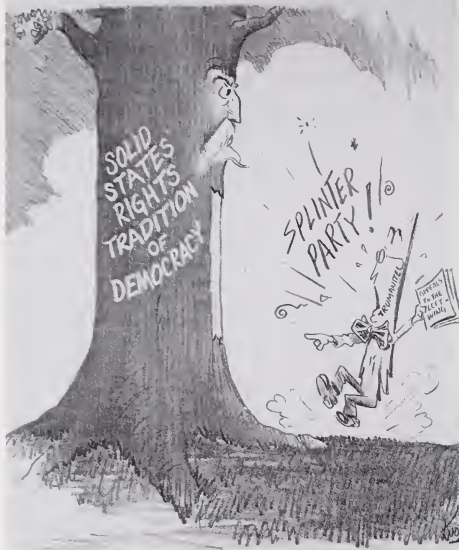


PRACTICING FOR ANOTHER KICKING CONTEST





SAYS THE TOOTH PICK TO THE OAK



"AMIN" TO JOIN US?"

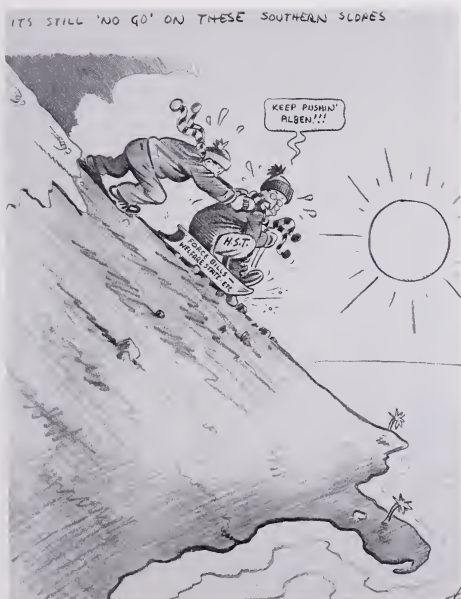
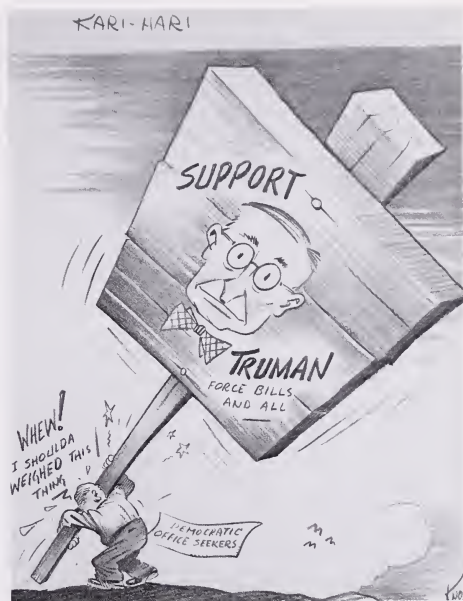
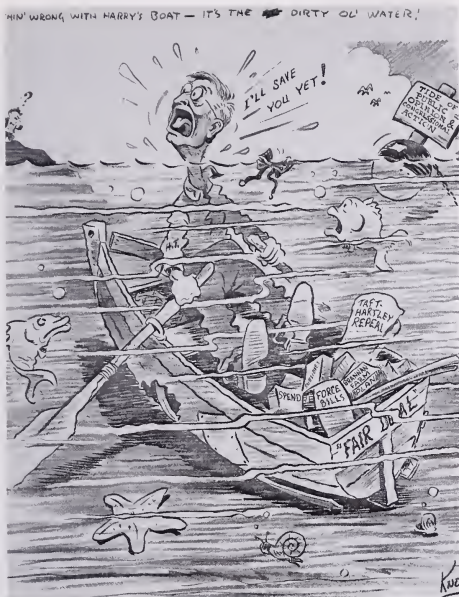


DON'T LOSE THAT FOOTHOLD



EXPOSING HENRY'S "RED" FLANNELS!





RISEING, LIKE PHENIX, OUT OF THE ASHES



THE PLAY WE GAIN ON



SOMETHING TO TIE TO



SHOOTING AT THE APPLE



THE SOUTH HAS NEVER CALLED ON US IN VAIN



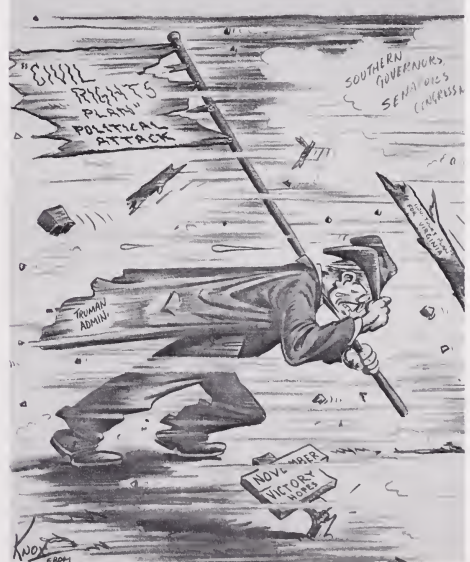
SHARPEN UP MIGHTY WELL, YES SUH!



SEE WHAT THE GRASS ROOTS HAVE TO SAY



IT'S A STRONG BLOW OUT OF THE SOUTH



MEDLEY

OCT. 1948

